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FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM JERUSALEM DATED MAY 12, 1977
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C O N F I D E N T I A L JERUSALEM 686

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SUBJECT: JERUSALEM TEN YEARS AFTER - UNITED BUT DIVIDED

SUMMARY: ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCCUPATION
OF EAST JERUSALEM AND THE TRIPLING OF MUNICIPAL
BOUNDARIES BY ISRAEL, JERUSALEM PHYSICALLY AND
ADMINISTRATIVELY IS A UNITED CITY. GONE ARE THE UGLY
PHYSICAL BARRIERS THAT DIVIDED THE JEWISH AND THE ARAB
SECTIONS OF THE CITY BETWEEN 1948 AND 1967. A
MASSIVE ISRAELI BUILDING PROGRAM AND GERRY MANDERED
CITY LIMITS HAVE ENABLED THE JEWISH POPULATION TO
MAINTAIN ITS 3 TO 1 RATIO TO ARABS. HOWEVER,
POLITICALLY, CULTURALLY AND RELIGIOUSLY, JERUSALEM IS STILL
DIVIDED IN THE MINDS OF BOTH JEWS AND ARABS. END SUMMARY.

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1. CELEBRATIONS MARKING THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE "REUNIFICATION OF JERUSALEM" HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY
RESTRAINED SO FAR. (THE ISRAELI FLAG WAS
RAISED OVER THE OLD CITY ON JUNE 7, 1967. BY THE
HEBREW CALENDAR THE ANNIVERSARY FALLS ON MAY 16 BUT
SINCE THIS DATE IS ON THE EVE OF NATIONAL ELECTIONS

"JERUSALEM DAY" IS BEING OBSERVED MAY 12 THIS YEAR.)

2. DURING THE ISRAELI ADMINISTRATION, MUCH HAS BEEN DONE TO ALTER THE CHARACTER OF JERUSALEM. TO JEWISH (WEST) JERUSALEM'S 9,000 ACRES, ISRAEL "ANNEXED" 18,000 ACRES OF ARAB TERRITORY CREATING A NEW ADMINISTRATIVE ENTITY WHICH IN 1967 CONTAINED 197,000 JEWS AND 68,000 ARABS (A RATIO OF 74 PERCENT TO 26 PERCENT). MOST OF THE ADDITIONAL LAND WAS SPARSELY POPULATED BY ARABS AND THE ENLARGED MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES DELIBERATELY EXCLUDED LARGE ARAB POPULATION CENTERS TO THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

3. IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE JEWISH-ARAB RATIO IN THE ENLARGED MUNICIPALITY GIVEN THE MUCH HIGHER ARAB BIRTH RATE AND TO "CREATE FACTS," A MASSIVE BUILDING PROGRAM WAS LAUNCHED IN THE EARLY 'UPS WHICH RESULTED IN JERUSALEM BEING SURROUNDED BY LARGE ISRAELI HOUSING PROJECTS IN THE SOUTH, EAST AND NORTH. EVEN SOME ISRAELIS COMPLAIN THAT THE NEW DEVELOPMENTS APPEAR TO BE DESIGNED AS MUCH AS FORTIFICATIONS AS FOR HOUSING. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE OF THE FRENCH HILL AREA AND THE EXPANDED MOUNT SCOPUS CAMPUS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY ON HIGH HILLS TO THE NORTH OVERLOOKING THE OLD CITY. IN 1976, JERUSALEM'S POPULATION WITHIN THE EXPANDED CITY LIMITS WAS ESTIMATED AT 260,000 JEWS AND 100,000 ARABS WITH THE ARABS HAVING SLIGHTLY IMPROVED THEIR DEMOGRAPHIC RATIO (72 PERCENT TO 27.8 PERCENT).
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4. HOWEVER, IF ONE LOOKS AT THE JERUSALEM METROPOLITAN AREA AS A WHOLE WHICH INCLUDES ARAB TOWNS SUCH AS BETHLEHEM/BEIT JALA IN THE SOUTH AND RAMALLAH/EL BIREH IN THE NORTH, DEMOGRAPHIC DATA IS 250,000 JEWS AND 220,000 ARABS RESULTING IN A RATIO OF 53 PERCENT TO 47 PERCENT.

5. IN SPITE OF EXTENDING ISRAELI LAW AND JURISDICTION TO EAST JERUSALEM, ISRAEL HAS NOT INSISTED THAT ARAB RESIDENTS OF THE OCCUPIED AREA BECOME ISRAELI CITIZENS AND THUS THEY CONTINUE TO CLAIM JORDANIAN CITIZENSHIP. THIS MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR EAST JERUSALEMITES TO TRAVEL, STUDY AND DO BUSINESS IN THE ARAB WORLD.

6. POLITICAL AND CULTURAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES IS VIRTUALLY NON-EXISTENT. ISRAEL WAS EAGER TO HAVE ARAB RESIDENTS PARTICIPATE IN

THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS OF 1969 AND 1973 BUT THE ARABS, REJECTING ISRAEL'S CLAIM OF ANNEXATION OF ARAB JERUSALEM, REFUSED. THUS, MAYOR KOLLEK AND THE JERUSALEM MUNICIPAL COUNCIL ADMINISTER THE ARAB AREAS OF THE CITY WITHOUT ANY ARAB PARTICIPATION IN THE CITY'S POLITICAL LIFE. SIMILARLY, ALL EFFORTS ON THE PART OF MAYOR KOLLEK AND OTHERS TO BUILD BRIDGES BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES HAVE PROVEN FRUITLESS. EAST JERUSALEMITES WILL NOT ATTEND SOCIAL OR PUBLIC FUNCTIONS AT WHICH ISRAELIS ARE PRESENT. MANY EAST JERUSALEMITES WILL NOT COME TO WEST (JEWISH) JERUSALEM EVEN TO THE CONSULATE GENERAL WHICH IS AMERICAN TERRITORY. CONVERSELY, MANY ISRAELIS ARE RELUCTANT TO VISIT ARAB SECTIONS OF THE CITY ALTHOUGH ON SATURDAYS MANY ISRAELIS SHOP IN EAST JERUSALEM AND THE OLD CITY. THERE IS, HOWEVER, QUIET

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BEHIND-THE-SCENES BUSINESS ACTIVITY BETWEEN THE TWO GRMUPS.

7. TO MANY ARABS AND JEWS, JERUSALEM REALLY MEANS THE OLD CITY - THE RELATIVELY SMALL AREA ENCLOSED WITHIN SULEIMAN THE MAGNIFICENT WALLS WITHIN WHICH THE HOLY PLACES ARE LOCATED. AFTER 1967, ISRAEL EXPROPRIATED THE AREA KNOWN AS THE JEWISH QUARTER AND LAUNCHED A BUILDING PROJECT WHICH HAS RESULTED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF LUXURY HOUSING AND WHICH HAS BEEN TASTEFULLY DONE TO HARMONIZE WITH THE OTHER QUARTERS WITHIN THE CITY WALL. THE CONSTRUCTION OF LUXURY BUILDINGS IN THE JEWISH QUARTER AND THE DEMOLITION OF A LARGE NUMBER OF OLDER STRUCTURES TO CREATE THE VAST ESPLANADE IN FRONT OF THE WESTERN WALL, TOGETHER WITH PROF. MAZAR'S EXTENSIVE EXCAVATIONS ADJACENT TO THE SOUTHERN WALL OF THE TEMPLE MOUNT AREA, ALTHOUGH AESTHETICALLY PLEASING TO WESTERN EYES, HAVE RESULTED IN SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES IN THE CHARACTER OF THE OLD CITY AS IT EXISTED PRIOR TO 1967.

8. CONCERNING THE HOLY PLACES, ISRAEL'S ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN EXEMPLARY AND CONTRASTS FAVORABLY WITH JORDAN'S REFUSAL TO LET ISRAELIS VISIT THE WESTERN WALL DURING THE 19 YEARS IT ADMINISTERED EAST JERUSALEM.

9. ISRAELI ADMINISTRATION HAS RESULTED IN MATERIAL BENEFIT TO THE ARABS (THE LARGE ISRAELI HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS IN WHICH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS INVESTED AT LEAST IL 3 BILLION WERE BUILT WITH ARAB

LABOR FROM EAST JERUSALEM AND THE WEST BANK), AND
MUNICIPAL SERVICES ARE AVAILABLE TO ALL WHO RESIDE
IN THE EXPANDED CITY LIMITS WHO WISH TO USE THEM.
HOWEVER, THE ARABS OF EAST JERUSALEM NO MORE THAN
THE ARABS OF THE WEST BANK ARE RECONCILED TO
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PERMANENT ISRAELI OCCUPATION. THEY HAVE STOOD
THEIR GROUND, THEY HAVE NOT FLED THEIR HOMES
AND THEY BELPEVE THAT ONE DAY THEY WILL HAVE A SAY IN
THEIR OWN AFFAIRS. THE ISRAELIS, FOR THEIR
PART, INSIST THAT REUNIFIED JERUSALEM IS
FOREVER THE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL, A CLAIM THAT NO MAJOR
NATION HAS RECOGNIZED DE JURE.

10. OVER THE YEARS, VARIOUS EXPERTS AND GROUPS
HAVE DRAFTED IMAGINATIVE PLANS DESIGNED TO TURN
JERUALEM INTO JEWISH AND ARAB BOROUGHES WITH
SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE JEWISH, MOSLEM AND
CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS SITES IN THE OLD CITY. SO
FAR, ALL OF THESE PLANS, NOMATTER HOW INGENIOUS
APPEAR INCAPABLE OF BRIDGING THE PRESENT GAP
BETWEEN THE ISRAELI POSITION OF INDIVISIBL
ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY OVER REUNITED JERUSALEM AND THE
ARAB DEMAND FOR TOTAL WITHDRAWAL AND RESTORATION
OF ARAB SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE AREA OCCUPIED IN 1967.

11. MERON BENEVENISTI, TEDDY KOLLEK'S DEPUTY,
OBSERVES THATOF THE THREE PROBLEM AREAS OF
ADMINISTRATION, THE HOLY PLACES, AND SOVEREIGNTY,
THE FIRST TWO APPEAR CAPABLE OF SOLUTION. NO ONE
YET HAS DEVISED THE CREATIVE SOLVENT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY
ISSUE.
NEWLIN UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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